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Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652:
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (CEAUSESCU, NICOLAE), RO
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S TALKS WITH CEAUSESCU: MFN, CSCE,
MBFR, MIDDLE EAST

FOR AMBASSADOR AND CHARGE ONLY

1. SUMMARY. PRESIDENT NIXON AND THE SECRETARY HELD TALKS WITH ROMANIAN PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU AND FOREIGN MINISTER MACOVESCU ON DECEMBER 4 AND 5. CEAUSESCU STRESSED HIS CONCERN LEST IMPROVED US RELATIONS WITH USSR AND CHINA RESULT IN IGNORING THE INTERESTS OF SMALLER STATES SUCH AS ROMANIA. HE WAS REASSURED BY THE PRESIDENT THAT US WOULD CONTINUE TO PAY CLOSE ATTENTION TO THE RIGHTS OF SMALL NATIONS AND STANDS FIRM FOR ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY. CEAUSESCU URGED SEPARATE AND EARLIER MFN LEGISLATION FOR ROMANIA AND WAS TOLD US WOULD WORK CLOSELY WITH ROMANIA TO FIND A SOLUTION. HE URGED CONSIDERATION OF COLLATERAL MEASURES AT CSCE IN VIEW STRONGLY CENTRAL EUROPEAN FOCUS OF MBFR, AND ALSO ADVOCATED A PERMANENT CSCE BODY. PRESIDENT NIXON ASSURED HIM THAT US
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WOULD CONSULT CLOSELY WITH ROMANIA AT CSCE AND MBFR NOTING HOWEVER THAT THERE WERE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AS TO HOW CSCE SHOULD COME OUT. CEAUSESCU ADVOCATED PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION AS WELL AS THAT OF ROMANIA IN

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THE MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE AND WAS TOLD THAT THESE WERE
NOT CLOSED QUESTIONS ALTHOUGH PALESTINIAN PRESENCE AT

EARLY PHASE WOULD RAISE TOO MANY PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

2. DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT DECEMBER 4: THE
PRESIDENT NOTED HOW MANY CHANGES THERE HAD BEEN SINCE
HE AND PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU BEGAN DEALING WITH EACH OTHER
IN 1967 AND 1969. CEAUSESCU AGREED, RECALLED HOW
ROMANIA HAD WELCOMED THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH
CHINA AND THE AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE
STATED, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE THE US, CHINA AND USSR, AS
BIG POWERS, HAD AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY, OTHER STATES
LIKE ROMANIA MUST NOT BE IGNORED. HE HOPED THAT THE
IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE USSR ON
THE ONE HAND AND THE US AND CHINA ON THE OTHER WOULD BE
CARRIED OUT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF
OTHER STATES. HE SAID THESE WERE SENTIMENTS WHICH HE DID
NOT HIDE FROM EITHER THE CHINESE OR THE SOVIETS. THE
PRESIDENT COMMENTED THAT NEITHER HIS VISIT TO CHINA NOR
HIS MEETINGS WITH THE SOVIET LEADER HAD MET WITH UNIVERSAL
APPROVAL, BUT THAT SO FAR AS SMALLER STATES WERE
CONCERNED, A DEFINITE EFFORT HAD BEEN MADE TO INCLUDE
LANGUAGE IN THE COMMUNIQUES OR AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED
WITH THE SOVIETS AND THE CHINESE RESPECTING AND PROTECTING
THE RIGHTS OF ALL NATIONS FROM BEING JEOPARDIZED BY SUCH
AGREEMENTS. HE ASSURED PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU THAT HE STANDS
ABSOLUTELY FIRM FOR ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY
AND THAT SO FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED, NO
COUNTRY NEED HAVE ANY FEAR THAT WE WILL USE OUR POWER
TO DOMINATE OTHER COUNTRIES OR INFRINGE ON THEIR INDEPEN-
DENCE -- THIS BEING THE CORNERSTONE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN
POLICY. IN RESPONSE TO CEAUSESCU'S QUESTION AS TO WHETHER
THERE COULD BE DETENTE WITHOUT CONDOMINIUM THE PRESIDENT
REPLIED THAT IT IS INDEED POSSIBLE TO HAVE DETENTE WITHOUT
CONDOMINIUM.

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3. THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT THE NEED FOR GOOD RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, BUT
INDICATED THAT NEITHER HE NOR SECRETARY-GENERAL BREZHNEV
HAD ANY ILLUSIONS AS TO THE FACT THAT OUR INTERESTS
COLLIDE IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD. WHAT HAS TO BE
DONE IS TO SEE THAT THESE COLLISIONS DO NOT RESULT IN AN
EXPLOSION. THE PRESIDENT STRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT WE HAVE
ESTABLISHED AT LEAST A BEGINNING OF A STRUCTURE WHERE
DIFFERENCES CAN BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY.

4. CEAUSESCU EXPRESSED HIS GREAT SATISFACTION WITH WHAT
THE PRESIDENT HAD SAID, REITERATED HIS UNDERSTANDING
OF THE ROLE OF BIG POWERS, BUT CAME BACK AGAIN TO THE

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NEED FOR BIG POWERS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES LEST MISCALCULATIONS BE MADE OF THOSE COUNTRIES' INTERESTS.

5. AT MEETING OF DECEMBER 5, THE FOLLOWING TOPICS WERE COVERED:

A. MFN - CEAUSESCU EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT AN INTERIM SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND FOR GIVING ROMANIA MFN PENDING ADOPTION OF GENERAL LEGISLATION. THE PRESIDENT INDICATED THAT MFN POSED A VERY DIFFICULT POLITICAL PROBLEM, BUT HE ASSURED CEAUSESCU THAT THE US WOULD WORK VERY CLOSELY WITH ROMANIA TO FIND A SOLUTION. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT WE WOULD ENCOURAGE AMERICAN BUSINESS TO TAKE FAVORABLE ATTITUDES TOWARD ROMANIA.

B. CSCE AND MBFR - CEAUSESCU ASKED THAT THE US AT GENEVA ENCOURAGE MEASURES OF MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT AND ALSO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT BODY. ON MBFR, HE EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THINGS WERE NOT GOING THAT WELL BECAUSE NOT ALL OF CENTRAL EUROPE IS BEING DISCUSSED AND BECAUSE THE REDUCTIONS BEING CONSIDERED ARE ONLY SYMBOLIC. THE PRESIDENT COMMENTED THAT DISCUSSIONS ON MBFR ARE GOING TO BE DIFFICULT BUT THAT WE WILL BEAR IN MIND THE CONCERN FOR COUNTRIES LIKE ROMANIA. SIMILARLY, WITH CSCE WE ARE SENSITIVE TO THE INTERESTS OF ROMANIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE SUPPORTED THE CONFERENCE BUT IT IS CLEAR AT THIS STATE THERE IS CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AS TO HOW THE CONFERENCE SHOULD

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EVENTUALLY COME OUT. THE PRESIDENT ASKED THE SECRETARY TO SEE THAT THE CLOSEST CONSULTATIONS TAKE PLACE WITH ROMANIA ON BOTH SUBJECTS.

C. MIDDLE EAST - CEAUSESCU URGED THAT PROVISION BE MADE FOR PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE. THE SECRETARY COMMENTED THAT SUCH PARTICIPATION AT THE BEGINNING, IN THE OPINION OF ALL THE PARTICIPANTS, RAISED TOO MANY PROBLEMS, BUT THE QUESTION COULD BE DISCUSSED DURING THE FIRST PHASE. HE ADDED THAT FROM OUR VIEWPOINT SUCH PARTICIPATION IS NOT EXCLUDED. CEAUSESCU ALSO RAISED THE DESIRABILITY OF OTHER STATES ASIDE FROM THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION TAKING PLACE IN THE CONFERENCE. AMONG SUCH STATES MIGHT BE ROMANIA. HE ARGUED THAT WHILE THE MAIN THING WAS, OF COURSE, TO REACH RESULTS DURING THE CONFERENCE, NONETHELESS, PARTICIPATION OF OTHER COUNTRIES MIGHT KEEP ALL THE BLAME, IF THINGS DIDN'T GO WELL, FROM BEING PUT ON THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES. THE PRESIDENT COMMENTED THAT PARTICIPATION OF OTHER COUNTRIES WAS NOT A CLOSED QUESTION. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT SO FAR AS WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WERE CONCERNED, THEY HAVE TAKEN A PAROCHIAL

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VIEW AND HAVE NOT BEEN HELPFUL, HAVING THOUGHT MORE ABOUT THE FRUITS OF THE CONFERENCE THAN ABOUT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. THE SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT EVEN AMONG EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ROMANIA HAD BEEN THE ONLY ONE TO HAVE MAINTAINED RELATIONS OVER THE YEARS WITH BOTH PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT.

6. DISCUSSIONS AT LUNCH DECEMBER 4 WITH SECRETARY, SHULTZ, AND HUMPHREY CENTERED ON MFN. SENATOR HUMPHREY THOUGHT IT MADE SENSE STILL TO TRY TO HAVE A GENERAL BILL BUT THERE WAS "OUTSIDE POSSIBILITY" OF SEPARATE BILL FOR ROMANIA AND "WE WILL HAVE TO LOOK INTO IT." SECRETARY SHULTZ SUGGESTED THAT "EQUALITY IN TRADE" WOULD BE BETTER TITLE THAN MFN. CEAUSESCU RAISED THE QUESTION OF LOW INTEREST LONG-TERM CREDITS AND SECRETARY SHULTZ DEFLECTED HIM TOWARD EX-IM AND IBRD PROVIDING NO PROMISE OF CONCESSIONARY RATES. CEAUSESCU RETURNED TO THE ISSUE INDICATING THAT HE WAS THINKING IN TERMS OF 500-600 MILLION DOLLARS WHICH WOULD BE USED FOR PURCHASES IN THE

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